

A SHORT
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT.

Venalis Populus venalis Curia Patrum!



L O N D O N.

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To the Right Honourable
The LORD —

My Lord,

WHEN a Man resolves to turn Author, he immediately looks out for some Great Man, under whose Protection he hopes his Works may come into the World better recommended; and tho' private Interest has generally a great Influence in the Choice of Patrons, I was resolv'd upon this Occasion without any other Regard, to fix upon a Person, whom all the World shou'd agree to have the best Right and Title to this Dedication: And here it was impossible to be long at a Loss; were I to celebrate the Actions of Blenheim, Ramellies, and Oudenard, to whom cou'd I think of inscribing such an Undertaking, but to the Great General, who was known to command on those Glorious Days, and without naming his Name, every Body wou'd agree to whom alone the Honour was due; In commemorating the three last Winter Campaigns in Parliament, which tho' not expos'd to much Danger, must be allowed to require some Conduct and Generalship, at whose Feet cou'd I think of laying this Treatise, but at Your Lordships, and to mention your Name, wou'd be to suppose that the Fame and Reputation which you have acquir'd by retrieving the Affairs of the French King, was not as well known to all the World, as the mistaken Glory of the Duke of Marlborough in distressing him, your Troops, it must be confessed, were good, ready at the Word of Command, to go upon any Attack, resolute and determin'd to go through upon all adventures, but yet as the Glory of conducting them is intirely due to Your Lordship, I beg leave to lay before you this short Treatise, which I have undertaken not out of any Affection to Scribbling, much less with Hopes of any Reward from Your Lordship. * I will therefore neither prefix your Name, nor subscribe my own, trusting that the World will easily know the one, and hardly guess at the other.

In writing this short History, I have endeavour'd to state all the Facts fairly, and in their true Light, that the whole World may be Judge of the Benefits they received from the present Parliament, and that all England may see, what they have done for the Quiet of these Nations and the uni-

versal Good, and that the Freeholders may at the next Election, if they think fit, make choice of such Men, as are resolv'd to Act upon the same Principles, with the same Prudence and Vigor, and under the same, I mean Your Lordship's auspicious Influence.

No doubt, my Lord, the Expence of Management has been Great, but had one short Rule been observ'd, and had the Members receiv'd no more than they truly deserv'd from their Country, I am of Opinion, the Commons might have been paid, as they are said to have paid the Nations Debts, without one Farthing Charge to the People.

Far be it from me to detract from the Honour of that Noble Assembly; but if it were no Offence to your Lordship's great Modesty, I wou'd take upon me to say, they cou'd never have perform'd so many remarkable Services, had they not firmly adher'd to your Lordship, and their Monosyllables.

To these therefore and your Lordship, the Honour is due, of all that the following Sheets contain; To your Lordships great Truth and Sincerity, is owing the present indefeasible Security of the Protestant Succession in the House of HANOVER, and the perfect Friendship between Her Majesty and that Illustrious House. To your Lordship's Zeal, for the Establish'd Religion, and Aversion to Fanaticism, is Owing the Safety of our Church; To the Love of your Country, and your deep Skill in foreign Affairs, is owing the Glory of the Peace, and the Ballance of Power in Europe; To your great Wisdom, we owe the Extension of our Trade; and to your Vigilance, the Demolition of Dunkirk; In short, to your Lordship's Dexterity and Munificence, we Owe what was done in the one House, and to your Eloquence, Perspicuity, and Twelve Peers, whatever was done in the Other.

Thus, my Lord, the Merit of all that has been of late transacted, may be justly attributed to your Lordship; there are some, very few I hope, who may deny your Lordship these Attributes, and fewer yet, who will be unwilling they should meet with their just Reward,

I am, &c.

A short HISTORY OF THE PARLIAMENT.

IT has been usual, at the end of former Parliaments, to give the World some Account or History of their Proceedings; and as this Parliament may be truly said to have distinguish'd themselves from all that ever went before them; I think it but a piece of Justice due to them, to those that chuse them, and to those who are soon to proceed to a new Election, to give a short Sketch of their most Extraordinary Transactions; which, I doubt not, will preserve the Memory of this Parliament to Posterity.

Former Parliaments have reckon'd it their chief Honour and Glory, to have faithfully discharg'd the Part of Patriots, and with all due Regard to the Prerogative, thought it the principal Duty of the Representative of the People, to watch over, and secure the Rights, Privileges, Liberties, and Properties of the Subject; what Care and Concern of this Kind has been seen in this Parliament, I need not say: They have prided themselves in the Titles of *Dutiful and Loyal*, a Character that no future Parliament will ever want, that will be ready always to comply with, and support the Projects of an enterprizing Ministry: But let the Electors consider, whether such Qualifications are fitter for a Member of Parliament of Great Britain, or the Parliament of Paris.

At the Time this Parliament was chosen, all thinking Men were under the greatest Apprehensions of the dreadful Consequences that must attend such a sudden Change of Affairs as was then seen, and carried on with so much Fury.

The former Measures most visibly tended to nothing, but confirming a Noble Alliance, form'd to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*, to rescue *Spain* and the *Indies* from the *House of Bourbon*, and thereby to settle a true Ballance of Power in *Europe*, to secure the Protestant Interest, and in particular the *Protestant Succession* to the Crown of *Great Britain*.

These great Ends were the chief View of those, that serv'd the QUEEN, for the Eight first Years of her Reign; and with what Success they serv'd her, their worst Enemies do confess.

But when a new Scheme was concerted, the contrary Measures were immediately to be enter'd upon: The War must be ended, the Grand Alliance Dissolv'd, and to perfect all, Peace and a strict Friendship with *France* must be concluded.

But as these Doctrines, when they were entirely new, were at first surprizing and shocking to all the Nation, to surmise such Events, was call'd *Malice* and *Faction*: If any such thing could be design'd; the Parliament, to be sure, wou'd never come into it, and this was to be our great Security; but how far the Fears and Apprehensions of all honest Men have been justified by the Event, is now no longer a Question; and as without the Concurrence of a Parliament, it was impossible to have plung'd the Nation into such inextricable Difficulties; I will give you a short View, what a Share the Parliament has had in this wonderful Undertaking, and how far they have contributed to the Ruin of their Country.

I have too much Charity to believe, that all, who have been consenting to these pernicious Measures, equally design'd the Mischiefs that have come upon us; Those, who have had the *Management* of this great Machine, and seem indeed to understand nothing, but the managing of *Parties*, and making a proper use of the Weakness and Corruption of Mankind, knew this desperate Game was not to be play'd, but by the utmost Dissimulation, and by deceiving and imposing upon great Numbers of well meaning Men: Specious pretences have never been wanting to gild the bitter Pill, and the Nation by degrees has
been

been drawn into these extremes: But as Gentlemens eyes begin to be opened, they surely will resent such intolerable Treatment, and when they find, that what they were told of other People, was utterly false; and that all the great Advantages, they were made to hope for, from this new Scheme, end in nothing, or what is worse, in the Ruin of their Country; they will begin to think, before it's too late, what must be the unavoidable Consequence, if they persist to go blindly on, and follow the Dictates of those, who have thus grossly deluded them.

As there was nothing, which *Queen, Lords and Commons* in all former Parliaments, and the whole Nation had express'd a greater Zeal and Concern for, than securing *Spain and the West-Indies to the House of Austria*, it had been too gross, at the first opening of this Parliament, to have discover'd the Design of giving them entirely into the Hands of *France*; The Commons therefore are taught to declare, for * *a vigorous Prosecution of the War in all its Parts, and especially in Spain*, for it was not yet time to take off the Mask, and confess that the War was to be ended, let the Consequence be what it would.

Soon after an Account comes of an Action in *Spain*, much to the Disadvantage of King *Charles*, which *Her Majesty* communicates to the Parliament. The Commons, still zealous for the *War in Spain*, think it necessary for *Her Majesty* to give Directions † for sending and procuring more Troops to repair this Loss, and not discourag'd by Misfortunes, promise to use their utmost Endeavours, to enable *Her Majesty* to carry on the just and necessary War, in which She was engag'd; and to support Her in such Measures, as on this Occasion shou'd be thought proper to retrieve the loss in *Spain*. So the War it seems, at that time was just and necessary, and *Spain* at any Rate was then thought worth the saving: And yet, methinks, if we had been very much in earnest, even at that time, we should have heard of Forces sent from hence, or Forreigners hir'd to repair this Loss; but as the Parliament had never any curiosity to enquire how far this Address had been com-

* *Commons Address*, Nov. 30. 1710.

† *Commons Address*, Jan. 3. 1710.

ply'd with, I am afraid; King *Charles*; from that Hour, never found any Effect of this great Zeal for his Service.

However, publick Declarations in his Favour are still thought necessary. Upon the Death of *the Emperour*, to prevent the ill Consequence thereof, * *the Interests of the House of Austria are to be supported, and the utmost Endeavours are to be us'd, to promote the Election of the King of Spain to the Empire.* These Endeavours are us'd, and prove successful; but who would have thought at that time, that the *Empire* was to be purchas'd by King *Charles*, at so dear a Rate, as the loss of the *Crown of Spain*, but so it has happen'd; and the only Argument that has been us'd, for giving *Spain* to King *Philip*, has been to preserve the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, which would otherwise be in Danger from the Conjunction of the *Empire and Spain*; but I dare answer for the Parliament, whatever others might design, they did not in the least foresee this unhappy Consequence: Thus we see thro' the whole course of this first Session, This Parliament was Zealously devoted to the Interest of King *Charles* as King of *Spain*.

Before the next Session, a Project of Peace had been set on foot, and the World began to suspect, that *Spain* was now to be given up to the *House of Bourbon*; I must do the Parliament that Justice, to confess, that this, at first, gave offence to a great many; they knew not very well, how to relish such a direct Contradiction to all they had been saying, and doing for so many Years past; and with these Sentiments, 'tis very well known, that most Gentlemen came out of the Country, to attend the Second Session of Parliament; but a few Prorogations, some Town Conversation, and a little secret Conviction, brought this matter to a Composition; and in case nothing was said expressly of *Spain*, a general Address, † *full of entire Confidence, and Satisfaction in the Just and Honourable Peace in View*, which no body then knew one word of, was agreed to.

* *Commons Address*, April 20. 1711.

† *Commons Address*, Decemb. 8. 1711.

This matter was then to be managed a little more tenderly, and the Commons were to be taught a new Lesson; In order to this a *Pamphlet called the Conduct of the Allies, &c.* was publish'd, and a great deal of Industry used, to make this the *Political Creed of the Party*, which all the *Orthodox Friends of France* embrac'd very readily; and in this was to be found the whole Scheme of the Proceeding of that Session; this Master piece, fill'd with falsties, and misrepresentations, was no sooner dispers'd and canvass'd in the World, but it produc'd the desir'd Effect, affording Arguments, for Artful and Ill-designing Instruments, to prevent and prejudice the Minds of weak and deluded People, and firing others who had no Leisure or Opportunity to be better inform'd, with Resentment and Indignation against all the *Allies*, who, they had been made to believe, had dealt so unfaithfully with us, and accordingly Addresses are made in Parliament, * *for Accounts of the Quota's and Proportions of Her Majesty and Her Allies during the War, and how the same have been observed, for all Treaties for raising and augmenting Proportions*, † and what ever else was thought necessary for carrying on the Grand Design. These Addresses produce States of the War, prepar'd by those, who had procur'd 'em to be call'd for, and who wou'd not, in all probability, deliver any but such as serv'd their own Purpose; upon the Day appointed to consider of the State of the War, *Eleven Questions* are brought into the House ready Pen'd, and all number'd, and put into the Hands of proper Persons, who mov'd them in a very decent Order: and without any more Ceremony, the Parliament in an Hours time judg'd and censur'd the *late Emperour*, the present Emperour, the *King of Portugal*, and the *States General*; with all whom it had been so lately declar'd, that a strict Friendship and good Correspondence was above all things to be cultivated, to render the Peace secure and lasting.

This was a handsome step for one day, and a good preparative for what was to follow: But as the giving up *Spain* was the great Stumbling block that was to be re-

* Decemb. 20, 1711.

† Jan. 31.

mov'd, something more was necessary to be done; another is appointed for considering the State of the War, and there several Resolutions are made, usher'd in, in the same Manner, stating the Expence of the War in Spain, which is there represented to be most Extravagant, and to have cost an immense Sum, and such as the Nation could not any longer possibly endure; by this means the way is pav'd for giving up Spain, and what had been long before agreed to, but conceal'd, was now brought to maturity, and began publicly to be avow'd and supported.

In a short time afterwards the Terms of * a General Peace are communicated, wherein the giving up Spain and the Indies, appears to be almost the only thing that was fully agreed to, and concluded; but the Loyal Commons full of Indignation against the Allies, and aggrieved with the great Burthen of the Spanish War, with Hearts † full of Gratitude for what had already been obtain'd, which seem'd to be nothing but a French Renunciation, want Words to express the Satisfaction, with which they received the Good News of a Proposal for giving Spain to King Philip, which was to execute it self.

I have neither Room nor Time here, to enter into a Justification of the Allies, and to shew the Fallacies and Misrepresentations of the State of the War, in all its Parts; the States General, sensible of the Injustice, that was done them, represented their Case in a Memorial to the Queen, which fully prov'd they were wrongfully charg'd by the Votes and Resolutions of the House of Commons; This indeed was not to be endur'd, that any Body shou'd dare to undeceive the World; The Memorial therefore is first call'd a || pretended Memorial, and then Voted a False, Scandalous and Malicious Libel; and Mr. Buckley Author of the Daily Courant, who printed it, taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms; such consummate Justice have all met with, who dar'd to speak unseasonable Truths, either within Doors, or without. The States General, I presume, escap'd an express Cen-

* June 6, 1711, † Commons Address, June 6, 1711.
|| April 8. 1712.

sure, because *Her Majesty* had this Session declar'd * *their Interest inseparable from Her own*, and the Parliament had concur'd with her in it.

The next thing I shall Remark of this Parliament, is, the Methods they took to recomend themselves to the People; this they labour'd, by endeavouring to detect great Frauds, and Abuses, and Misapplications of Publick Money, during the late Administration; their Discoveries are all summ'd up, in a general Representation to the Queen; of which I will venture to assert, that all the Particulars consist, either of Falsities, or Mistakes, or Misrepresentations; and that where-ever the Fact is true, the same things have been done again by the present Ministry, and either justified or not animadverted upon by the Parliament.

The great Instance is, that *l. 35, 000, 000*, were not accounted for; but this Charge has been so fully confuted, and it has been so evidently prov'd, that of the *l. 35 Millions*, Accounts had been duly render'd for all but 4 Millions, which is much short of one Years Supply, to which the least Answer has never been given; that 'tis needless to enlarge upon that.

But here may be seen a true Specimen of the Candor, and Justice of this House of Commons. The two Uses that were to be made of this Vote, were to raise a Clamour in the Country, and to come at a Censure of the *Late Lord Treasurer*, whom they voted † *guilty of a notorious Breach of Trust, and high Injustice to the Nation, for not compelling the respective Accountants to pass their Accounts*. If he was guilty, it must be by sending Orders or Warrants, to the *Deputy Remembrancer*, to stay Process. This the House of Commons were sensible of, and therefore in order to have the whole Matter before them on *Thursday the 26th of April, 1711*, they order'd the *Deputy Remembrancer* to lay before the House, *What Orders he had receiv'd for staying or issuing Process against Accountants*. On *Tuesday following, the 1st of May*, the *Deputy Remembrancer* presents the said Orders and Warrants; but our worthy Patriots, impatient of Delay,

* Decemb. 7. 1711.

† April 28th, 1710.

on Saturday the 28th of April, resum'd the Consideration of this Affair, and proceeded to judge and Censure before the only Evidence, which could set this Matter in a true Light, was before them, which they themselves had call'd for, and which prov'd a full Justification of the Person, whom they thought it necessary first to hang, and then to try.

The next Article is the Debt of the Navy: This too has been so fully explain'd, that it needs no further Justification: But this gave the Parliament Occasion to declare, That * *Exceeding the Parliamentary Provisions was a new and illegal Practice, and a dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament.* It is almost incredible that immediately after this, the Exceedings of the Two next Years shou'd be greater, and less justifiable, than in any of the former Years.

The Expence of the Navy for the Year 1711, exceeded the Supply granted for that Service, above 600000*l.* as appears by the Estimate of the Debt of the Navy, at Michaelmas 1711, given into Parliament.

The Debt of the Navy at Christmas last, is given into Parliament, with the Deficiency of last Years Funds, was above 700000*l.* In both these Years, the Parliament made the same Provision for the Navy, as in any Year of the War; and the World must needs be sensible, what great Services have been done at Sea, these last Two Years; but both those Accounts of Exceedings have been laid before this Parliament, and no Notice taken of them.

By an Account from the Exchequer of the Sums Voted and rais'd, and Sums receiv'd and issued for the Year 1712, it appears that the last Years Expence exceeded the Supplies, by above half a Million; a pretty reasonable Exceeding for such a *Pacifick Year*; and altho' all these Accounts lay upon the Table, to be perus'd by the Members, not one word of Notice is taken of them.

The whole Expedition to *Quebeck* and *Canada*, was an Exceeding, for which no Supply was ever yet demanded, or granted in Parliament; and tho' so much has been said of † *supplying Provisions* to land Forces on

* Representation, May 24th. 1710. † Ditto. board

board, the same was done in this Case, and likewise for the Regiments that were sent to *Spain*, at the latter-end of the Year 1710; for which no *Deduction* has been yet made, out of the Pay of the Forces, nor any thing re-assign'd to the Victualling; and what is most strange, these Services were under Consideration, and going on, at the very time that the Parliament was censuring the late Ministry, for the very same Measures.

Another Method of making this Parliament, and their great Directors, popular, and at the same time, leaving a heavy Imputation upon the late Ministry; was † calling for an Account of all the publick Debts, which were stated to be more than Nine Millions, and discharging them without any further Charge to the People; that the Debt at *Michaelmas*, 1710, was under Seven Millions, is too notorious, to be disputed; that it was swell'd to above *Nine Millions*, by near *Three Millions* being granted, in Aid of the Supplys of that Year, and computed into the gross Sum, from the Nature of the Project, is as well known: But be the Debt what they please; to say it is paid off, and without any Charge to the People, is beyond my Apprehension.

The Debt was due in the several Offices, and secur'd to the Creditors, by National Credit on proper Debentures, Bills and Certificates, that carry'd an Interest of *6l. per Cent.* How is this Debt now discharg'd? By being transfer'd to the *General Mortgage*, which is now made a Security for paying the same Interest as before: If a Man owes a *Thousand Pounds* upon his Bond, or any ther Personal Security, and afterwards mortgages his Estate for better securing the Principal, and Interest; will any May say, that by this Means he has paid off, or discharged his Debt? Or, is he not in Truth as much in debt as before? But if this Project comes to be thoroughly understood, it will still appear in a very different Light, from what the Authors of it labour to represent it. The Funds of the *General Mortgage* were before engag'd to the Year 1716, and therefore, cou'd not, 'till that Time, be applied towards paying the Interest of the

South Sea Stock, the Annual Interest thereof, is above 570000*l.* which must 'till then, be paid out of the Supplies granted for the Service of each current Year, as it has hitherto been done; and by the Votes of this Sessions we see 540000*l.* granted expressly for this Service, which is more than 12*d.* in the Pound of the Land-Tax, or the whole neat Produce of the *Malt-Tax*, apply'd to Pay the Interest of a Debt, which is said to be paid off, without laying any Burthen upon the People: Besides, if the People were not to be yearly Tax'd for this Interest, who that has any Regard for Posterity, will say, that granting such a considerable Fund in Perpetuity, which wou'd otherwise in three Years, have been at Liberty, for any future Necessities of the Publick; is not laying a heavy Burthen upon the People?

Thus we see how the Publick Debts have been paid by this Parliament. In the same Manner do they talk of *Restoring Credit*; We all know, at what Time, and to what a Degree, the Stocks sunk at once, that nothing since, not even the Peace it self, has been able to raise them to their former Value; and I am at a Loss to guess, what they mean, who talk of *Restoring Credit*; unless it was by making all *Exchequer Bills*, *Specie Bills*. There was indeed, a very great Discount upon *non Specie Bills*, occasion'd by the Change of the Ministry, the Parliament granted 45000*l.* *per Ann.* for circulating *Exchequer Bills*, and making all Bills *Specie Bills*; and by that Means indeed, they did reduce the great Discount they had brought upon them; and for 45000*l.* *per Ann.* did *restore Credit* in the single Instance of *Exchequer Bills*.

And now I am upon Money Matters, I beg leave to mention one thing, which perhaps has not been consider'd by many. What the several *Prorogations* of this Session from Time to Time, to the 13th, of *April* last, did actually cost the Nation? The usual Time for the meeting the Parliament, and even the latest, according to the most modern Custom, hath been before *Christmas*; I presume it will not be deny'd me, but before that time this last Year, after the repeated Cessation of Arms both by Land and Sea, and after the Duke of *Ormond's* Orders to withdraw from the Army, and leave the *Allies*

to the Mercy of *France*, all things were so thoroughly agreed betwixt *England* and *France*, that the Peace was in Effect concluded betwixt us, or at least, that we were entirely satisfied, that there cou'd be no further Danger of any War betwixt the two Nations; the Obstructions, and Delays to Signing the Peace, arising only from the Obstinacy of some of the *Allies*, and a restless Faction at home. If this be true, and the Parliament had been suffer'd to meet, the Expence might from that time have been reduc'd, and the same Force that has been judg'd necessary for our Security, both by Sea and Land, for the *last Six Months* of this Year, had been equally sufficient for the *first Six Months*; and no Body will pretend to shew me one Reason to the contrary: If so, by comparing the Provision, that the Parliament has made for the *First Six Months of this Year*, with the Provision that is made for the *Last Six Months*, we shall soon see what might have been sav'd to the Nation, if the Parliament had been permitted to sit at the usual Time.

(a) The Expence of 30000 Men for Sea-Service, for 6 Months, at the usual Allowance of above 2000000 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> , for 40000 Men, will a- mount to — — — — —	} 750000 00 00
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(b) There was granted for de- fraying the Charge of the Land-For- ces in Her Majesty's Service, for the First Six Months — — — — —	} 636888 14 10
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<i>Total Charge of the First half Year,</i>	<u>1386888 14 10</u>
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• (a) Voted *Apr.* 21, 1713. (b) Voted *May* 9. 1713.

(c) The

(c) The Expence of 10000 Men for
Sea-Service for 6 Months at the same } 250000 00 00
Allowance will amount to about

(d) There was granted for Land
Forces, &c. for the last 6 Months of } 270073 10 10
this Year,

Total Expence of the Second half Year, 520073 10 10

The Difference is 866815 04 00

This proves to a Demonstration, what the late *Prorogations* did cost the Nation; a Sum almost equal to the neat Produce of this Year's Land Tax; such frequent *Prorogations*, and such unnecessary Charges upon the People, might have created some Uneasiness in a less *Loyal House of Commons*, but this *Dutiful Parliament* was very well satisfy'd, and readily made good all the Extraordinary Expences that had been made, without any Authority or Consent of Parliament.

Before I leave this Topick, let me make one general Observation; That this *House of Commons*, who thought the Burthen of the Taxes intollerable; and that the deplorable Circumstances of the *Nation* made almost any Peace desireable; rais'd and levy'd more Money upon the Subject in Two Years, in which nothing at all has been done; than was rais'd in any Two of the most glorious and succesful Years of the War; such Sums as, if they had been apply'd to a vigorous Prosecution of the War, without such melancholy and reproachful Interruptions as we have seen, had procur'd us indeed, a *safe, lasting and honourable Peace*.

But the Gentlemen, I am afraid, wou'd take it ill if I shou'd pass over in Silence, the *Persons* they thought worth their Notice, and upon whom they bestow'd such particular Marks of their Favour.

The *Duke of Marlborough* had beaten the *French* too often ever to be forgiven; it was necessary he should

(c) Voted Apr. 21. 1713. (d) Voted May 9. 1713.
be

be disgrac'd, or the Scheme cou'd not go on: He was too considerable to be drop'd quietly; but because his publick Services to his Country cou'd not be call'd in Question, the known and usual Perquisites of the General are voted *Publick Money, and to be accounted for.*

And that it might be thought, that this Prosecution of the *Duke of Marlborough* did not proceed entirely from Party Malice, they vote that the *Two and half per Cent.* which had been deducted from the Pay of the Forreigners, * *shou'd be continu'd for the Year 1712., and apply'd for the Service of the War.* This had an Appearance of saving some Money for the Publick, but what was really sav'd, we shall soon see, A new General is appointed, *very different from the last*; a General as the Examiner says, *That knew how to obey as well as to command*, I believe he did; But by the Clamour that has been made in the World, of the vast Incomes and Salaries of the *Duke of Marlborough*, during the time he serv'd, no Body wou'd have imagin'd, that the New General must have had greater Appointments and Allowances from the Publick, than the *Duke of Marlborough* ever had, but 5000*l.* is immediately paid him for his Equipage, which the other never had; and an allowance of 600*l.* per *Mensem.* for his table, which the *Duke of Marlborough* never ask'd or thought of, is directed by Warrant out of the Monies granted for the Service of the War: I believe when it this computed and added to the 5000*l.* all that was deducted last Year for the *Two and half per Cent.* from the Forreigners will fall short of making it good to the Publick; the Difference then is, the Forreigners by Treaty gave it to the *Duke of Marlborough*, for Contingencies and secret Service; The Parliament censure his accepting it, and what then? Grant it themselves, or which is the same thing, the Ministry do it for them, to the New General, and this for Equipage, and Table Money, for as for secret Service, we all know there was an End of that: And yet the 10000*l.* granted for that Service last Year, was likewise issu'd to our *peaceful General*; and if an Account was to be made up

of all the Salaries and Incomes, which this General received last Year, from the Publick, they wou'd as far exceed the Allowances of the *Duke of Marlborough*, as the Actions of one out-doe the other. I will not take upon me to make up the Account, but if any Body will give himself the Trouble to compute what is the Income of a *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, of *Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards*, of a *Regiment of Horse*, of *General and Commander in chief*, at 20*l.* per Day, and add these to the Sums above mentioned, I believe a good Manager might farm them at 40000*l.* per Annum. and be well paid for his Trouble.

The Lord Townshend had made a Treaty for securing a good Barrier to the States, and the Protestant Succession in the House of Hannover to these Kingdoms; these were great Obstacles, and such, as the King of France must needs insist, shou'd be remov'd; what then cou'd be less expected, from such good Friends, as we are now become to France, than to declare the Man, an Enemy to the Queen and Kingdom, who had done such disagreeable things to our best Ally.

Mr. Walpole had been often very troublesome in the House, talk'd of publick Accounts, which he pretended to understand, and would, upon all Occasions, be defending the late Ministry, where he thought them clear and Innocent; He must therefore be sent to the Tower, and expell'd the House, to prevent his giving this Parliament any further Trouble, and for a Charge against him, or any Body else, the Commissioners of Accounts, who have by this Time sufficiently convinc'd the World, that they are of no Use, but to sully the Characters of those, that are out of Power, and to skreen the Inquietudes of those that are in, were ready, as soon as the Word was given, to Cook up a Complaint, sufficient for the present Purpose, tho' falsify'd by positive Evidence upon Oath; but in all these Censures, it has so happen'd, that the Persons concern'd may look upon them as so many Honours done them.

I must not forget the last Piece of Civility, that this Courtly House of Commons paid to the Crown. mean the raising 500000*l.* to pay the Debts of the C

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vil List. I will not enter into an Account how this Debt came to be contracted, 'tis notorious, and every Office of the Household can testify this Truth, that their Arrears are at least double of what they were at the Change of the Ministry? 'Tis very well known, that there was issu'd in the first Eight Years of Her *Majesty's* Reign, out of the Civil List Funds, to the Use of the War, and other publick Occasions, above 500000 *l.* which very easily accounts for the Debt incur'd in that Time. I make no doubt, but there have been large and very Extraordinary Issues made since; I do not suppose for the Service of the War; perhaps for obtaining and Justifying this wonderful Peace; tho' methinks, 'tis hard that *France* shou'd not pay that Reckoning; which altho' I can give no Account of, I make no Doubt but they that were so ready to pay the Debt, had their Reason for so doing, and can in a great Measure account for the contracting of it; whether they were induc'd to pay this Debt, for the Share they had of it, or what they are to have, towards enabling them to carry their next Elections, is not Material, but 'tis certainly a most dangerous Precedent, to be Mortgaging the Funds, that are settled for the Support of the Civil Lists, which by Degrees may all be so far engag'd, and granted away, that a *Land Tax* or a *Malt Tax*, must be made at last an *Hereditary Revenue* for Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.

I must not omit the singular Behaviour of this Parliament in relation to the *Treaty of Commerce*, I do not intend to enter into a Disquisition of the Treaty, and show, how destructive it was to the Trade of *Great Britain*, in all its Parts: That was so well understood, by all sensible Men about this Town, and I hope will be so thoroughly understood, by all trading Parts of the Kingdom, that they will either elect none, that gave the least Countenance to such a pernicious Bill, or give them such Instructions, to oppose any Future Attempt of that Kind, that there shall be no Danger of the Treaty's being render'd effectual; but what's remarkable, is the Conduct of the House of Commons upon this Occasion, they were zealous for the *Treaty of Commerce* in every

Step, and would bear no Opposition till they came to the Question of engrossing the Bill, by that time Petitions from all Parts of the Country began to alarm them, and whether out of a Regard to the Good of their Country, or an Apprehension of losing their next Elections, I will not determine; but a sudden turn was taken, and the Bill rejected, and here was an End at once of all the wonderful Advantages that Great Britain was to reap from this celebrated Peace: But rejecting the Bill, was not so trivial a Matter, it gave too great Offence, and something must be done to give Satisfaction for this 1st Instance of Disloyalty.

The same Gentlemen therefore, who had been Instrumental in rejecting the Bill, must now make a healing Address, and atone by the Loss of their Reputations, for the good Service they had *Dar'd* to do their Country; having at the opening the Session, congratulated the Queen upon the Conclusion of a Peace, which they then knew nothing of; * *They express now their Thankfulness for the Terms and Conditions of it, which they had just rejected, as dangerous and pernicious to the Kingdom: But they say † So good a Foundation of Trade was laid, as might be further improv'd to the Advantage of the Kingdom, which they desire may be perfected, and so explain'd, as fully to answer Her Majesty's good Intentions, for the Good and Welfare of her People. What a Mockery is here, and plain Contradiction to all common Sense? But how it was understood at Court, is plain by the Queen's Answer, || she thanks them, for fully expressing their Approbation of the Treaties of Peace and Commerce, and promises them not to improve, perfect, or explain, but to secure to them the Benefits and Advantages, which with great Difficulty, had been obtain'd for her Subjects; and for this most gracious Answer, the House of Commons Return their most humble Thanks; thereby confessing they did fully approve the Treaty of Commerce, which they had but just rejected, and that all they desir'd, was to have those same Advantages in*

* Address, June, 23, 1713.

† Ditto.

‡ Queen's Answer to the last Address.

Trade secur'd to them, which for want of Understanding, they had so lately mistaken for great Mischiefs, and unavoidable Destruction, to all the Manufactures of *Great Britain*; but by these Steps, and what was said at the Conclusion of this Session; there is one Thing the People of *England* may be very sure of; that this same *Treaty of Commerce*, neither explain'd, improv'd nor perfected, and no other, will be laid before the next Parliament; and no Endeavours wanting to carry it thro' and render it effectual.

Such Recantations as this seems to be, are a little new in Parliament; and I was at a Loss to find any thing like it, 'till this Parliament had furnish'd me with a Precedent. In the Comittce of *Ways and Means*, a *Duty upon Leather* was mov'd, and press'd by the Court, but rejected as greivous to the People. This was re-sented in a very high Manner; but a little Discipline soon made amends, and the same Gentlemen who voted against a *Duty upon Leather*, ask'd Pardon, and oblig'd the Court with their Vote for a *Duty upon Hides, and Skins Tan'd, Taw'd or Dress'd*.

Some short Account of the Secret History of this *Treaty of Commerce* may not be improper, and may serve to enlighten the World concerning it.

When it was first Publish'd, and Objections against it arose, it was entertain'd by our *Great Men* as a thing very indifferent to them, and for which they were no ways concern'd; but desir'd the Bill might take its Fate, as it shou'd be judg'd Advantageous or Prejudicial to the Nation: When the *Eighth* and *Ninth* Articles came to be better consider'd, and it was manifest to every Body, that the plain Sense and Meaning of them, could no ways be understood, but to the Prejudice of *Great Britain*; these were called Factious Constructions, and such as *France* never means or design'd; and upon Application of the *East-India Company*, it was promis'd them that an Explanation should be procur'd from *France* in a Week's Time, entirely to their Satisfaction. But this Explanation was never since heard of.

There were several Instructions given to the Committee for Clauses to enact the *French King's* Meaning, but the

the Uneasiness still increasing, and a general Discontent arising, the next Expedient was to drop the Bill: And this was promis'd in a Letter wrote to the *Speaker* for that Purpose; but *France* still persisting, no Explanation can be had, either to ease the present Difficulty; or any Hopes given of such Alterations against another Parliament, as might quiet the Minds of the People.

What then was to be done? They who seem'd so indifferent at the Beginning, can no longer Disguise themselves: New Orders are given on a sudden, and the Bill must be carry'd thro' with a SPIRIT, for *France* would have it so; and so little did they doubt of Success, that the *French* Ambassador had an *Express* ready booted to send the good News of passing the Bill to *France*; a Bon-fire pil'd before *Somerset-House-Gate*, and *Jones's* Guns ready loaded to eccho the glad Tidings from t'other Side of the Water.

And with good Reason was all this Preparation made, for the Bill was rejected but by *Nine Votes*; so narrowly did the Trade of *Great Britain*, and all its Manufactures, escape the most fatal Blow that ever was attempted to be given them.

But 'tis not to be wonder'd at, that such Attempts as these have been made, and that the good Nature of the House of Commons is so much rely'd upon. There was nothing that the People of *England* have been better pleas'd with, than the delivering up *Dunkirk*, and the Hopes of its Demolition: This seems to be expressly provided for in the *Treaty of Peace*; and that it should be done within Five Months after the Conditions of Peace are concluded and sign'd, but there follows an Exception, that the Demolition shall not be begun, till the *Equivalent* for it is put into the Hands of the King of *France*. This naturally led the House of Commons to enquire by an Address, * *what the Equivalent was to be for the Demolishing of Dunkirk, or in Case it was not demolish'd, what was stipulated concerning it*; for 'tis observable, that this Equivalent is no where men-

* *June 3d. 1713.*

tion'd either in the *Treaty of Peace* betwixt *England* and *France*, or *France* and *Holland*.

In about * *Three Weeks* after, an Answer comes to this Address, *That the Equivalent, which was to be given for Dunkirk, was already in the Hands of the French King.* And is it credible that such an Answer to this Address should prove satisfactory? Or is any Man in *England* a Jot the wiser, or does he know at all the more, what is this *Equivalent*, or what is to become of *Dunkirk*? If the *Equivalent* is in the Hands of *France*, why are not the Works begun to be demolish'd? The Peace was sign'd the Last of *March*, O. S. The Works towards the Sea were to be demolish'd in Two Months, those towards the Land in Three Months: The *Equivalent* we are told, *is in the Hands of France*, and yet there is not one Stroke struck now in almost Four Months, in Order to the Demolition; and at the same Time the House of Commons is not only Satisfy'd with such an Answer, but what is more strange, have made a Provision for the Garrison of *Dunkirk* till *Christmas* next, and granted a Supply of near 40000*l.* for that Purpose. After this, what can we suppose too gross to pass upon this House of Commons?

I will conclude with one general Remark. That this House of Commons must be confess'd to be a Set of very *Dutiful* and *Loyal* Gentlemen; who out of Principle will go as far in complying with all the Demands of a Ministry, as any that ever went before them, or can ever succeed them: But I would not have it thought, that all this was pure Loyalty; a little Regard to themselves, and a small Spice of Interest, must be allowed to have had some Share in influencing and procuring all this *dutiful* and submissive Behaviour; and I wonder indeed that those who employ'd them, and had the Benefit of their profess'd Zeal for the Prerogative, did not consult their Honours a little more, than so openly and bare-fac'd at the End of each Session, to be rewarding them for their good and faithful Service.

* *June the 20th, 1713.*

It was never known before, that Days were set apart for Rewarding Members of Parliament with Places and Employments: He that will look upon the Votes of the Last Day of the First Session, will find almost nothing done, but new *Writs* order'd in the Room of Parliament Men, who had receiv'd their Wages for their past Years Service: And to such a Pitch were they come at last, that at the End of the Second Session, when the Queen's Speech was made, and the Session clos'd, to all other Intent and Purposes, Both Houses are order'd to adjourn themselves for *Eighteen Days*, as if something extraordinary was still behind, that might require the sitting of the Parliament, but when the Day comes, nothing is done, but a second List of *Loyal Members prefer'd*, is produc'd, and the Vacancies of *Patriots* turn'd Courtiers, are by new *Writs* order'd to be fill'd up, that these *dutiful Members* might be ready at the Beginning of the next Session, to serve those that had so well rewarded them for their past Services.

This is a very short History of this memorable Parliament You see the Picture in Miniature, if it were to be drawn at whole length, and to the Life, it would surprise you more; but by this Sample the Freeholders of *England* may judge, by what Means this Parliament has deserv'd to have their Memory transmitted to Posterity, and will surely consider well of their past Behaviour, before they choose those again, who for the Characters of *Loyal* and *Dutiful*, have sacrific'd their Country to the Power of *France*, which can end in nothing but bringing in the *Pretender*, *Popery*, and *Slavery*.

F I N I S.

